

Replication Code for “What Is a Patriot?”

Eddy S. F. Yeung, Mengqiao Wang, Kai Quek

February 13, 2024

```
### Set-up ----
## Clean the R environment and set the working directory
rm(list = ls())
setwd("~/Desktop/patriotism_2022/replication")

## Load the required packages
library(tidyverse) # version 2.0.0

## Warning: package 'readr' was built under R version 4.0.5
## -- Attaching core tidyverse packages ----- tidyverse 2.0.0 --
## v dplyr      1.1.3      v readr      2.1.2
## v forcats   1.0.0      v stringr   1.5.0
## v ggplot2   3.4.3      v tibble    3.2.1
## v lubridate 1.9.3      v tidyr     1.3.0
## v purrr     1.0.2
## -- Conflicts ----- tidyverse_conflicts() --
## x dplyr::filter() masks stats::filter()
## x dplyr::lag()    masks stats::lag()
## i Use the conflicted package (<http://conflicted.r-lib.org/>) to force all conflicts to beac

library(estimatr) # version 1.0.0
library(psych)    # version 2.1.9

## Warning: package 'psych' was built under R version 4.0.2
##
## Attaching package: 'psych'
##
## The following objects are masked from 'package:ggplot2':
##
##   %+%, alpha

library(scales) # version 1.2.1

##
## Attaching package: 'scales'
##
## The following objects are masked from 'package:psych':
```

```

##
##   alpha, rescale
##
## The following object is masked from 'package:purrr':
##
##   discard
##
## The following object is masked from 'package:readr':
##
##   col_factor
library(cowplot)      # version 1.1.1

## Warning: package 'cowplot' was built under R version 4.0.2
##
## Attaching package: 'cowplot'
##
## The following object is masked from 'package:lubridate':
##
##   stamp
library(grid)         # version 4.0.1
library(gridExtra)   # version 2.3

##
## Attaching package: 'gridExtra'
##
## The following object is masked from 'package:dplyr':
##
##   combine
library(modelsummary) # version 0.9.4

## Warning: package 'modelsummary' was built under R version 4.0.2
##
## Attaching package: 'modelsummary'
##
## The following object is masked from 'package:psych':
##
##   SD
library(texreg)      # version 1.37.5

## Warning: package 'texreg' was built under R version 4.0.2
## Version: 1.37.5
## Date: 2020-06-17
## Author: Philip Leifeld (University of Essex)
##
## Consider submitting praise using the praise or praise_interactive functions.

```

```

## Please cite the JSS article in your publications -- see citation("texreg").
##
## Attaching package: 'texreg'
##
## The following object is masked from 'package:tidyr':
##
##   extract

library(reshape2)      # version 1.4.4

##
## Attaching package: 'reshape2'
##
## The following object is masked from 'package:tidyr':
##
##   smiths

## Import the datasets
df_US <- read.csv("US_patriotism_2022.csv")
df_CN <- read.csv("CN_patriotism_2022.csv")

## Drop respondents whose survey completion time is less than 5 minutes
df_US <- df_US %>% filter(Duration..in.seconds. >= 5 * 60)
df_CN <- df_CN %>% filter(as.numeric(df_CN$Duration..in.seconds.) >= 5 * 60)

### Recode individual covariates for the US dataset ----
## Age
df_US$age <- df_US$yob + 11

## Party identification (1 = strong Democrat; 7 = strong Republican)
df_US <- df_US %>%
  mutate(
    pid = case_when(
      pid1 == 1 & pid2d == 1 ~ 1,
      pid1 == 1 & pid2d == 2 ~ 2,
      (pid1 == 3 | pid1 == 4) & pid2n == 2 ~ 3,
      (pid1 == 3 | pid1 == 4) & pid2n == 3 ~ 4,
      (pid1 == 3 | pid1 == 4) & pid2n == 1 ~ 5,
      pid1 == 2 & pid2r == 2 ~ 6,
      pid1 == 2 & pid2r == 1 ~ 7
    )
  )
df_US$dem <- ifelse(df_US$pid >= 1 & df_US$pid <= 3, 1, 0) # (1 = Democrat)
df_US$gop <- ifelse(df_US$pid >= 5 & df_US$pid <= 7, 1, 0) # (1 = Republican)

## Race (1 = non-Hispanic white)
df_US$white <- ifelse(df_US$racial == 1 & df_US$hispanic == 2, 1, 0)

## Gender (1 = male)

```

```

df_US$male <- ifelse(df_US$gender == 1, 1, 0)

## Education (1 = college graduate)
df_US$college <- ifelse(df_US$edu >= 5, 1, 0)

## Political knowledge (0 = least knowledgeable; 1 = most knowledgeable)
df_US$pol_correct1 <- ifelse(df_US$know1 == 1, 1, 0)
df_US$pol_correct2 <- ifelse(df_US$know2 == 4, 1, 0)
df_US$pol_correct3 <- ifelse(df_US$know3 == 2, 1, 0)
df_US$pol_correct4 <- ifelse(df_US$know4 == 2, 1, 0)
pol_know_US_PCA <- data.frame(df_US$pol_correct1, df_US$pol_correct2,
                             df_US$pol_correct3, df_US$pol_correct4)
pol_know_US_PCA <- principal(pol_know_US_PCA)
df_US$pol_know <- pol_know_US_PCA$scores
df_US$pol_know <- rescale(df_US$pol_know, to = c(0, 1))

## Authoritarianism (0 = lowest orientation; 1 = highest orientation)
df_US$auth_view1 <- ifelse(df_US$auth1 == 2, 1, 0)
df_US$auth_view2 <- ifelse(df_US$auth2 == 2, 1, 0)
df_US$auth_view3 <- ifelse(df_US$auth3 == 1, 1, 0)
auth_US_PCA <- data.frame(df_US$auth_view1, df_US$auth_view2, df_US$auth_view3)
auth_US_PCA <- principal(auth_US_PCA)
df_US$auth <- auth_US_PCA$scores
df_US$auth <- rescale(df_US$auth, to = c(0, 1))

## Cosmopolitanism (0 = least cosmopolitan; 1 = most cosmopolitan)
df_US$cosmo_id <- rescale(df_US$cosmo_id, to = c(0, 1))

## International trust (0 = lowest; 1 = highest)
df_US$intl_trust <- rescale(df_US$trust, to = c(0, 1))

## Political efficacy (0 = lowest; 1 = highest)
df_US$efficacy <- rescale(df_US$efficacy, to = c(0, 1))

### Recode individual covariates for the CN dataset ----
## Age
df_CN$age <- as.numeric(df_CN$yob) + 11

## Patriotic-education generation (1 = yes)
df_CN$pat_educ <- ifelse(df_CN$age <= (2022 - 1993 + 15), 1, 0)

## CCP membership (1 = yes)
df_CN$ccp <- ifelse(df_CN$party == 1, 1, 0)

## Race (1 = Han)
df_CN$han <- ifelse(df_CN$race == 1, 1, 0)

```

```

## Gender (1 = male)
df_CN$male <- ifelse(df_CN$gender == 1, 1, 0)

## Education (1 = college graduate)
df_CN$edu1 <- as.numeric(df_CN$edu1)
df_CN$edu2 <- as.numeric(df_CN$edu2)
df_CN$college <- ifelse(df_CN$edu1 > 6 | (df_CN$edu1 == 6 & df_CN$edu2 == 2), 1, 0)

## Political knowledge (0 = least knowledgeable; 1 = most knowledgeable)
df_CN$pol_correct1 <- ifelse(df_CN$know1 == 5, 1, 0)
df_CN$pol_correct2 <- ifelse(df_CN$know2 == 1, 1, 0)
df_CN$pol_correct3 <- ifelse(df_CN$know3 == 2, 1, 0)
df_CN$pol_correct4 <- ifelse(df_CN$know4 == 3, 1, 0)
pol_know_CN_PCA <- data.frame(df_CN$pol_correct1, df_CN$pol_correct2,
                             df_CN$pol_correct3, df_CN$pol_correct4)
pol_know_CN_PCA <- principal(pol_know_CN_PCA)
df_CN$pol_know <- pol_know_CN_PCA$scores
df_CN$pol_know <- rescale(df_CN$pol_know, to = c(0, 1))

## Authoritarianism (0 = lowest orientation; 1 = highest orientation)
df_CN$auth_view1 <- ifelse(df_CN$auth1 == 2, 1, 0)
df_CN$auth_view2 <- ifelse(df_CN$auth2 == 2, 1, 0)
df_CN$auth_view3 <- ifelse(df_CN$auth3 == 1, 1, 0)
auth_CN_PCA <- data.frame(df_CN$auth_view1, df_CN$auth_view2, df_CN$auth_view3)
auth_CN_PCA <- principal(auth_CN_PCA)
df_CN$auth <- auth_CN_PCA$scores
df_CN$auth <- rescale(df_CN$auth, to = c(0, 1))

## Cosmopolitanism (0 = least cosmopolitan; 1 = most cosmopolitan)
df_CN$cosmo_id <- rescale(as.numeric(df_CN$cosmo_id), to = c(0, 1))

## International trust (0 = lowest; 1 = highest)
df_CN$intl_trust <- rescale(as.numeric(df_CN$trust), to = c(0, 1))

## Political efficacy (0 = lowest; 1 = highest)
df_CN$efficacy <- rescale(as.numeric(df_CN$efficacy), to = c(0, 1))

### Create dependent variables ----
## Understanding of patriotism in pride terms
# Five-point DV (1 = lowest; 5 = highest)
df_US$pat_pride <- df_US$pat3
table(df_US$pat_pride)

##
## 1 2 3 4 5
## 41 46 266 569 654

```

```
df_CN$pat_pride <- as.numeric(df_CN$pat3)
table(df_CN$pat_pride)
```

```
##
##  1  2  3  4  5
##  4 24 107 503 807
```

```
# Binary DV (1 = agree)
df_US$pat_pride_bin <- ifelse(df_US$pat_pride >= 4, 1, 0)
table(df_US$pat_pride_bin)
```

```
##
##  0  1
## 353 1223
```

```
df_CN$pat_pride_bin <- ifelse(df_CN$pat_pride >= 4, 1, 0)
table(df_CN$pat_pride_bin)
```

```
##
##  0  1
## 135 1310
```

```
## Understanding of patriotism in superiority terms
```

```
# Five-point DV (1 = lowest; 5 = highest)
```

```
df_US$pat_super <- df_US$pat1
table(df_US$pat_super)
```

```
##
##  1  2  3  4  5
## 173 334 515 324 230
```

```
df_CN$pat_super <- as.numeric(df_CN$pat1)
table(df_CN$pat_super)
```

```
##
##  1  2  3  4  5
##  35 205 320 459 426
```

```
# Binary DV (1 = agree)
df_US$pat_super_bin <- ifelse(df_US$pat_super >= 4, 1, 0)
table(df_US$pat_super_bin)
```

```
##
##  0  1
## 1022  554
```

```
df_CN$pat_super_bin <- ifelse(df_CN$pat_super >= 4, 1, 0)
table(df_CN$pat_super_bin)
```

```
##
##  0  1
## 560 885
```

```
## Understanding of patriotism in identity terms
```

```
# Five-point DV (1 = lowest; 5 = highest)
```

```
df_US$pat_natid <- df_US$pat2
```

```
table(df_US$pat_natid)
```

```
##
```

```
## 1 2 3 4 5
```

```
## 98 219 506 492 260
```

```
df_CN$pat_natid <- as.numeric(df_CN$pat2)
```

```
table(df_CN$pat_natid)
```

```
##
```

```
## 1 2 3 4 5
```

```
## 5 42 157 628 615
```

```
# Binary DV (1 = agree)
```

```
df_US$pat_natid_bin <- ifelse(df_US$pat_natid >= 4, 1, 0)
```

```
table(df_US$pat_natid_bin)
```

```
##
```

```
## 0 1
```

```
## 823 752
```

```
df_CN$pat_natid_bin <- ifelse(df_CN$pat_natid >= 4, 1, 0)
```

```
table(df_CN$pat_natid_bin)
```

```
##
```

```
## 0 1
```

```
## 204 1243
```

```
## Hawkishness (1 = least Hawkish; 5 = most Hawkish)
```

```
table(df_US$hawk)
```

```
##
```

```
## 1 2 3 4 5
```

```
## 189 254 425 476 226
```

```
df_CN$hawk <- as.numeric(df_CN$hawk)
```

```
table(df_CN$hawk)
```

```
##
```

```
## 1 2 3 4 5
```

```
## 177 342 326 434 162
```

```
### Analysis
```

```
## Understandings of patriotism (prop. tests and t-tests) ----
```

```
# In pride terms
```

```
n_pride_terms_US <- sum(df_US$pat_pride_bin, na.rm = T)
```

```
n_pride_terms_CN <- sum(df_CN$pat_pride_bin, na.rm = T)
```

```
N_pride_US <- colSums(!is.na(df_US))["pat_pride_bin"]
```

```
N_pride_CN <- colSums(!is.na(df_CN))["pat_pride_bin"]
```

```

c(N_pride_US, N_pride_CN)

## pat_pride_bin pat_pride_bin
##          1576          1445

prop.test(x = c(n_pride_terms_US, n_pride_terms_CN),
          n = c(N_pride_US, N_pride_CN),
          alternative = "two.sided", correct = F)

##
## 2-sample test for equality of proportions without continuity
## correction
##
## data:  c(n_pride_terms_US, n_pride_terms_CN) out of c(N_pride_US, N_pride_CN)
## X-squared = 94.871, df = 1, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: two.sided
## 95 percent confidence interval:
## -0.1560314 -0.1050869
## sample estimates:
##   prop 1   prop 2
## 0.7760152 0.9065744

var.test(x = df_US$pat_pride, y = df_CN$pat_pride, alternative = "two.sided")

##
## F test to compare two variances
##
## data:  df_US$pat_pride and df_CN$pat_pride
## F = 1.7482, num df = 1575, denom df = 1444, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: true ratio of variances is not equal to 1
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  1.580037 1.933828
## sample estimates:
## ratio of variances
##          1.748201

t.test(x = df_US$pat_pride, y = df_CN$pat_pride, alternative = "two.sided")

##
## Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  df_US$pat_pride and df_CN$pat_pride
## t = -10.801, df = 2915.5, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
## -0.3936092 -0.2726608
## sample estimates:
## mean of x mean of y
##  4.109772  4.442907

```

```

# In superiority terms
n_super_terms_US <- sum(df_US$pat_super_bin, na.rm = T)
n_super_terms_CN <- sum(df_CN$pat_super_bin, na.rm = T)
N_super_US <- colSums(!is.na(df_US))["pat_super_bin"]
N_super_CN <- colSums(!is.na(df_CN))["pat_super_bin"]
c(N_super_US, N_super_CN)

## pat_super_bin pat_super_bin
##          1576          1445

prop.test(x = c(n_super_terms_US, n_super_terms_CN),
          n = c(N_super_US, N_super_CN),
          alternative = "two.sided", correct = F)

##
## 2-sample test for equality of proportions without continuity
## correction
##
## data:  c(n_super_terms_US, n_super_terms_CN) out of c(N_super_US, N_super_CN)
## X-squared = 205.76, df = 1, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: two.sided
## 95 percent confidence interval:
## -0.2953813 -0.2264865
## sample estimates:
##   prop 1    prop 2
## 0.3515228 0.6124567

var.test(x = df_US$pat_super, y = df_CN$pat_super, alternative = "two.sided")

##
## F test to compare two variances
##
## data:  df_US$pat_super and df_CN$pat_super
## F = 1.1754, num df = 1575, denom df = 1444, p-value = 0.001746
## alternative hypothesis: true ratio of variances is not equal to 1
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  1.062358 1.300234
## sample estimates:
## ratio of variances
##          1.175425

t.test(x = df_US$pat_super, y = df_CN$pat_super, alternative = "two.sided")

##
## Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  df_US$pat_super and df_CN$pat_super
## t = -15.527, df = 3018.9, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:

```

```

## -0.7331704 -0.5687599
## sample estimates:
## mean of x mean of y
## 3.065990 3.716955

# In identity terms
n_natid_terms_US <- sum(df_US$pat_natid_bin, na.rm = T)
n_natid_terms_CN <- sum(df_CN$pat_natid_bin, na.rm = T)
N_natid_US <- colSums(!is.na(df_US))["pat_natid_bin"]
N_natid_CN <- colSums(!is.na(df_CN))["pat_natid_bin"]
c(N_natid_US, N_natid_CN)

## pat_natid_bin pat_natid_bin
##          1575          1447

prop.test(x = c(n_natid_terms_US, n_natid_terms_CN),
          n = c(N_natid_US, N_natid_CN),
          alternative = "two.sided", correct = F)

##
## 2-sample test for equality of proportions without continuity
## correction
##
## data: c(n_natid_terms_US, n_natid_terms_CN) out of c(N_natid_US, N_natid_CN)
## X-squared = 489.39, df = 1, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: two.sided
## 95 percent confidence interval:
## -0.4120546 -0.3510620
## sample estimates:
##   prop 1   prop 2
## 0.4774603 0.8590187

var.test(x = df_US$pat_natid, y = df_CN$pat_natid, alternative = "two.sided")

##
## F test to compare two variances
##
## data: df_US$pat_natid and df_CN$pat_natid
## F = 1.9654, num df = 1574, denom df = 1446, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: true ratio of variances is not equal to 1
## 95 percent confidence interval:
## 1.776359 2.174017
## sample estimates:
## ratio of variances
##          1.965371

t.test(x = df_US$pat_natid, y = df_CN$pat_natid, alternative = "two.sided")

##
## Welch Two Sample t-test
##

```

```

## data: df_US$pat_natid and df_CN$pat_natid
## t = -25.073, df = 2849, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
## -0.9370142 -0.8010896
## sample estimates:
## mean of x mean of y
## 3.379048 4.248100

## Figure 1: what it means to be patriotic to Chinese and American respondents ----
# Create empty data frames to store the results
df_pat <- vector("list", 2)
for(i in 1:2){
  df_pat[[i]] <- as.data.frame(matrix(NA, nrow = 6, ncol = 5))
  df_pat[[i]] <- df_pat[[i]] %>%
    rename(sample = V1, understanding = V2,
            mean = V3, lower_ci = V4, upper_ci = V5)
  df_pat[[i]]$sample <- c("Chinese", "Chinese", "Chinese",
                          "Americans", "Americans", "Americans")
  df_pat[[i]]$understanding <- c("Pride", "Superiority", "Identity",
                                 "Pride", "Superiority", "Identity")
}

# Five-point measure (mean and CI)
temp <- lm_robust(pat_pride ~ 1, data = df_CN)
df_pat[[1]][1, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[1]][1, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[1]][1, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pat_super ~ 1, data = df_CN)
df_pat[[1]][2, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[1]][2, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[1]][2, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pat_natid ~ 1, data = df_CN)
df_pat[[1]][3, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[1]][3, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[1]][3, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pat_pride ~ 1, data = df_US)
df_pat[[1]][4, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[1]][4, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[1]][4, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pat_super ~ 1, data = df_US)
df_pat[[1]][5, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[1]][5, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[1]][5, 5] <- temp$conf.high

```

```

temp <- lm_robust(pat_natid ~ 1, data = df_US)
df_pat[[1]][6, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[1]][6, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[1]][6, 5] <- temp$conf.high

# Binary measure (mean and CI)
temp <- lm_robust(pat_pride_bin ~ 1, data = df_CN)
df_pat[[2]][1, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[2]][1, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[2]][1, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pat_super_bin ~ 1, data = df_CN)
df_pat[[2]][2, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[2]][2, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[2]][2, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pat_natid_bin ~ 1, data = df_CN)
df_pat[[2]][3, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[2]][3, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[2]][3, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pat_pride_bin ~ 1, data = df_US)
df_pat[[2]][4, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[2]][4, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[2]][4, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pat_super_bin ~ 1, data = df_US)
df_pat[[2]][5, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[2]][5, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[2]][5, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pat_natid_bin ~ 1, data = df_US)
df_pat[[2]][6, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_pat[[2]][6, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_pat[[2]][6, 5] <- temp$conf.high

# Reorder factors
for(i in 1:2){
  df_pat[[i]]$understanding <-
    factor(df_pat[[i]]$understanding,
           levels = c("Pride", "Superiority", "Identity"))
  df_pat[[i]]$sample <-
    factor(df_pat[[i]]$sample,
           levels = c("Chinese", "Americans"))
}

# Five-point measure

```

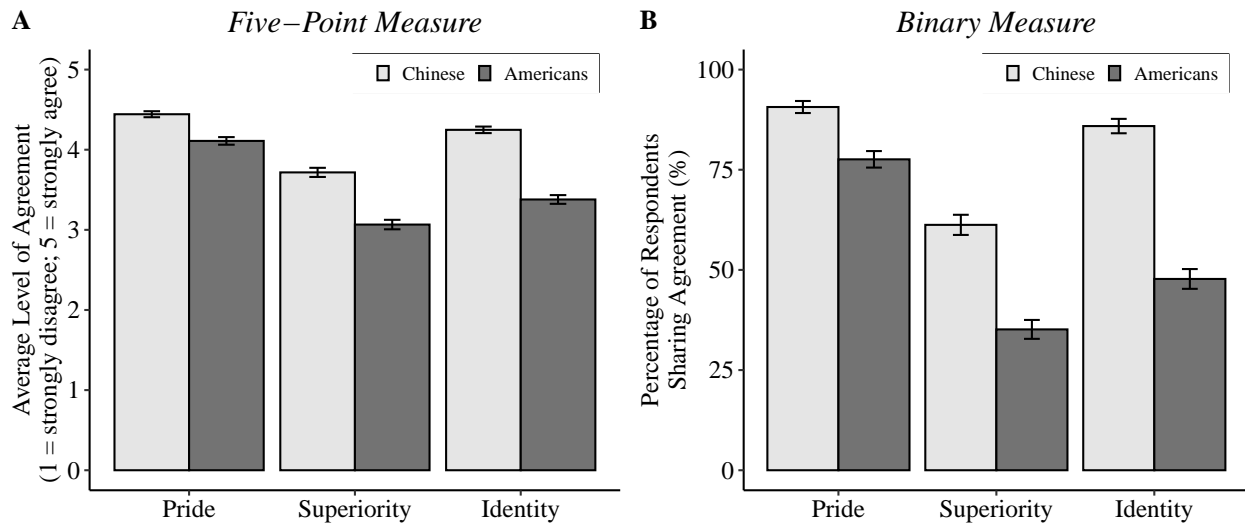
```

p1 <-
  ggplot(data = df_pat[[1]], aes(x = understanding, y = mean, fill = sample)) +
  geom_bar(stat = "identity", position = position_dodge(), color = "black") +
  scale_x_discrete(breaks = c("Pride", "Superiority", "Identity")) +
  scale_fill_manual(values = c("grey90", "grey45")) +
  geom_errorbar(width = .2, aes(ymin = lower_ci, ymax = upper_ci),
                position = position_dodge(.9)) +
  xlab("") +
  ylab("Average Level of Agreement\n(1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree)") +
  ggtitle("Five-Point Measure") +
  theme_classic() +
  theme(text = element_text(family = "Times", size = 13),
        axis.text = element_text(color = "black", size = 13),
        legend.justification = c(1, 1), legend.position = c(.96, .99),
        legend.box.background = element_rect(color = "black"),
        legend.key.size = unit(.5, "line"),
        legend.direction = "horizontal",
        legend.title = element_blank(),
        plot.title = element_text(hjust = 0.5, face = "italic")) +
  coord_cartesian(ylim = c(0, 5))

# Binary measure
p2 <-
  ggplot(data = df_pat[[2]], aes(x = understanding, y = mean * 100, fill = sample)) +
  geom_bar(stat = "identity", position = position_dodge(), color = "black") +
  scale_x_discrete(breaks = c("Pride", "Superiority", "Identity")) +
  scale_fill_manual(values = c("grey90", "grey45")) +
  geom_errorbar(width = .2, aes(ymin = lower_ci * 100, ymax = upper_ci * 100),
                position = position_dodge(.9)) +
  xlab("") +
  ylab("Percentage of Respondents\nSharing Agreement (%)") +
  ggtitle("Binary Measure") +
  theme_classic() +
  theme(text = element_text(family = "Times", size = 13),
        axis.text = element_text(color = "black", size = 13),
        legend.justification = c(1, 1), legend.position = c(.96, .99),
        legend.box.background = element_rect(color = "black"),
        legend.key.size = unit(.5, "line"),
        legend.direction = "horizontal",
        legend.title = element_blank(),
        plot.title = element_text(hjust = 0.5, face = "italic")) +
  coord_cartesian(ylim = c(0, 100))

# Combine into one graph
Figure_1 <- plot_grid(p1, p2, labels = "AUTO", label_fontfamily = "Times")
Figure_1

```



```
# ggsave(file = "Figure 1.pdf", Figure_1, width = 9, height = 4)
```

```
## Figure 2: individual-level correlates of different understandings of patriotism ----
```

```
# Patriotism in pride terms
```

```
pride_US <- lm_robust(pat_pride ~ age + gop + dem + white + male + college +
  pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
  data = df_US)
```

```
pride_CN <- lm_robust(pat_pride ~ age + pat_educ + ccp + han + male + college +
  pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
  data = df_CN)
```

```
models_pride <- list("US Sample" = pride_US, "CN Sample" = pride_CN)
```

```
var_order <- c("efficacy" = "Political Efficacy", "cosmo_id" = "Cosmopolitanism",
  "auth" = "Authoritarianism", "pol_know" = "Political Knowledge",
  "college" = "College Graduate", "pat_educ" = "Patriotic Education",
  "dem" = "Democrat", "gop" = "Republican", "ccp" = "CCP Member",
  "han" = "Han / White", "white" = "Han / White",
  "male" = "Male", "age" = "Age")
```

```
p3 <-
```

```
  modelplot(models_pride, coef_map = var_order) +
  xlim(-.75, 1.15) +
  scale_color_manual(values = c("blue", "red")) +
  xlab("OLS Estimates") +
  ggtitle("Pride Understanding") +
  theme(text = element_text(color = "black", family = "Times"),
    plot.title = element_text(hjust = 1, size = 12, face = "italic"),
    legend.position = "none") +
  geom_vline(xintercept = 0, linetype = "dashed", color = "black")
```

```
# Patriotism in superiority terms
```

```
super_US <- lm_robust(pat_super ~ age + gop + dem + white + male + college +
  pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
  data = df_US)
```

```
super_CN <- lm_robust(pat_super ~ age + pat_educ + ccp + han + male + college +
```

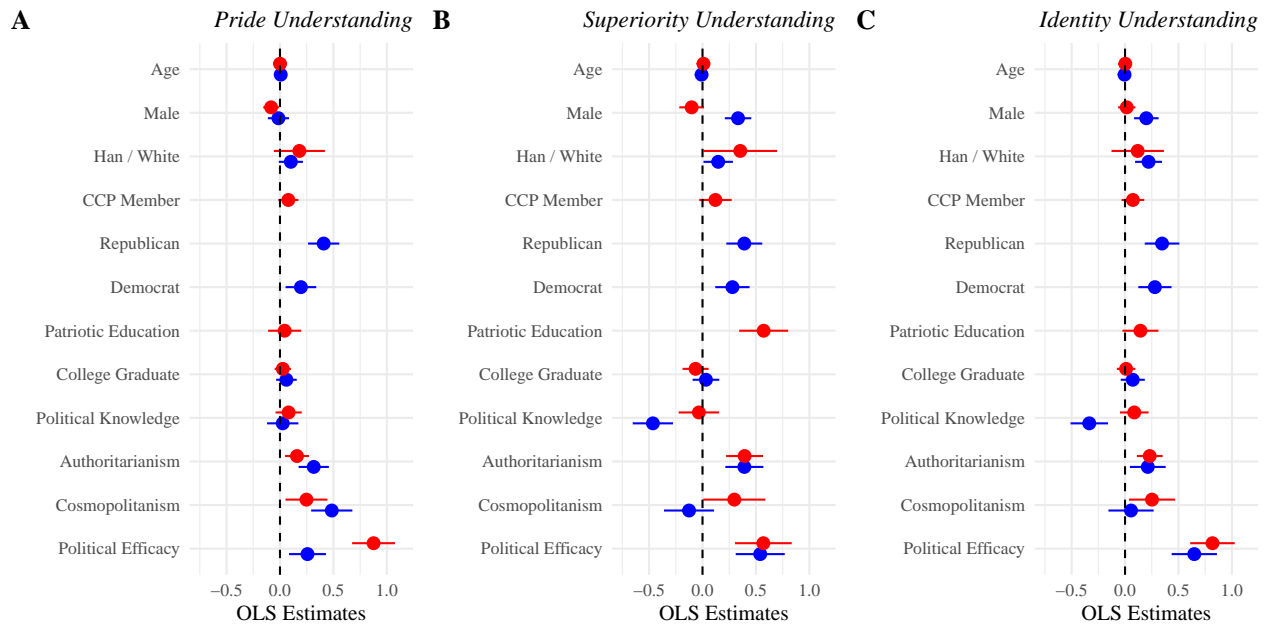
```

        pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
        data = df_CN)
models_super <- list("US Sample" = super_US, "CN Sample" = super_CN)
p4 <-
  modelplot(models_super, coef_map = var_order) +
  xlim(-.75, 1.15) +
  scale_color_manual(values = c("blue", "red")) +
  xlab("OLS Estimates") +
  ggtitle("Superiority Understanding") +
  theme(text = element_text(color = "black", family = "Times"),
        plot.title = element_text(hjust = 1, size = 12, face = "italic"),
        legend.position = "none") +
  geom_vline(xintercept = 0, linetype = "dashed", color = "black")

# Patriotism in identity terms
natic_US <- lm_robust(pat_natic ~ age + gop + dem + white + male + college +
  pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
  data = df_US)
natic_CN <- lm_robust(pat_natic ~ age + pat_educ + ccp + han + male + college +
  pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
  data = df_CN)
models_natic <- list("US Sample" = natic_US, "CN Sample" = natic_CN)
p5 <-
  modelplot(models_natic, coef_map = var_order) +
  xlim(-.75, 1.15) +
  scale_color_manual(values = c("blue", "red")) +
  xlab("OLS Estimates") +
  ggtitle("Identity Understanding") +
  theme(text = element_text(color = "black", family = "Times"),
        plot.title = element_text(hjust = 1, size = 12, face = "italic"),
        legend.position = "none") +
  geom_vline(xintercept = 0, linetype = "dashed", color = "black")

# Combine into one graph
Figure_2 <- plot_grid(p3, p4, p5, labels = "AUTO", nrow = 1, label_fontfamily = "Times")
Figure_2

```



```
# ggsave(file = "Figure 2.pdf", Figure_2, width = 9, height = 4.5)
```

```
## Figure 3: correlation between patriotic understandings and hawkishness ----
```

```
# Run the regressions first
```

```
hawk_US_1 <- lm_robust(hawk ~ pat_pride + pat_super + pat_natid,
  data = df_US)
hawk_US_2 <- lm_robust(hawk ~ pat_pride + pat_super + pat_natid +
  age + male + white + college,
  data = df_US)
hawk_US_3 <- lm_robust(hawk ~ pat_pride + pat_super + pat_natid +
  age + male + white + college +
  gop + dem + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
  data = df_US)
hawk_CN_1 <- lm_robust(hawk ~ pat_pride + pat_super + pat_natid,
  data = df_CN)
hawk_CN_2 <- lm_robust(hawk ~ pat_pride + pat_super + pat_natid +
  age + male + han + pat_educ + college,
  data = df_CN)
hawk_CN_3 <- lm_robust(hawk ~ pat_pride + pat_super + pat_natid +
  age + male + han + pat_educ + college +
  ccp + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
  data = df_CN)
```

```
# Create empty data frames to store the results
```

```
df_hawk <- vector("list", 2)
for(i in 1:2){
  df_hawk[[i]] <- as.data.frame(matrix(NA, nrow = 6, ncol = 5))
  df_hawk[[i]] <- df_hawk[[i]] %>%
    rename(spec = V1, understanding = V2,
    coef = V3, lower_ci = V4, upper_ci = V5)
```

```

df_hawk[[i]]$spec <- c("w/o controls", "w/o controls", "w/o controls",
                      "w/ controls", "w/ controls", "w/ controls")
df_hawk[[i]]$understanding <- c("Pride", "Superiority", "Identity",
                                "Pride", "Superiority", "Identity")
}

# Regression estimates for Chinese respondents
for(i in 1:3){
  df_hawk[[1]][i, 3] <- hawk_CN_1$coefficients[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[1]][i, 4] <- hawk_CN_1$conf.low[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[1]][i, 5] <- hawk_CN_1$conf.high[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[1]][i + 3, 3] <- hawk_CN_3$coefficients[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[1]][i + 3, 4] <- hawk_CN_3$conf.low[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[1]][i + 3, 5] <- hawk_CN_3$conf.high[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[2]][i, 3] <- hawk_US_1$coefficients[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[2]][i, 4] <- hawk_US_1$conf.low[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[2]][i, 5] <- hawk_US_1$conf.high[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[2]][i + 3, 3] <- hawk_US_3$coefficients[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[2]][i + 3, 4] <- hawk_US_3$conf.low[i + 1]
  df_hawk[[2]][i + 3, 5] <- hawk_US_3$conf.high[i + 1]
}

# Reorder factors
for(i in 1:2){
  df_hawk[[i]]$understanding <-
    factor(df_hawk[[i]]$understanding,
           levels = c("Pride", "Superiority", "Identity"))
  df_hawk[[i]]$spec <-
    factor(df_hawk[[i]]$spec,
           levels = c("w/o controls", "w/ controls"))
}

# Chinese respondents
p1 <-
  ggplot(data = df_hawk[[1]],
         aes(x = understanding, y = coef, color = spec, shape = spec)) +
  geom_point(position = position_dodge(.5), size = 2) +
  scale_color_manual(values = c("grey0", "grey50")) +
  scale_shape_manual(values = c(19, 17)) +
  geom_errorbar(width = 0, aes(ymin = lower_ci, ymax = upper_ci),
               position = position_dodge(.5)) +
  xlab("") +
  ylab("OLS Estimates\n(DV = 5-point hawkish preference)") +
  ggtitle("Chinese Respondents") +
  geom_hline(yintercept = 0, linetype = "dashed", color = "black") +
  theme_classic() +
  theme(text = element_text(family = "Times", size = 13),

```

```

axis.text = element_text(color = "black", size = 13),
legend.justification = c(1, 1), legend.position = c(.96, .99),
legend.box.background = element_rect(color = "black"),
legend.key.size = unit(1.5, "line"),
legend.key.height = unit(0.5, "cm"),
legend.margin = margin(t = -0.25, l = 0.15, b = 0.0, r = 0.15, unit = "cm"),
legend.title = element_blank(),
plot.title = element_text(hjust = 0.5, size = 13, face = "italic")) +
coord_cartesian(ylim = c(-.2, .4))

```

American respondents

```

p2 <-
ggplot(data = df_hawk[[2]],
       aes(x = understanding, y = coef, color = spec, shape = spec)) +
geom_point(position = position_dodge(.5), size = 2) +
scale_color_manual(values = c("grey0", "grey50")) +
scale_shape_manual(values = c(19, 17)) +
geom_errorbar(width = 0, aes(ymin = lower_ci, ymax = upper_ci),
              position = position_dodge(.5)) +
xlab("") +
ylab("OLS Estimates\n(DV = 5-point hawkish preference)") +
ggtitle("American Respondents") +
geom_hline(yintercept = 0, linetype = "dashed", color = "black") +
theme_classic() +
theme(text = element_text(family = "Times", size = 13),
      axis.text = element_text(color = "black", size = 13),
      legend.justification = c(1, 1), legend.position = c(.96, .99),
      legend.box.background = element_rect(color = "black"),
      legend.key.size = unit(1.5, "line"),
      legend.key.height = unit(0.5, "cm"),
      legend.margin = margin(t = -0.25, l = 0.15, b = 0.0, r = 0.15, unit = "cm"),
      legend.title = element_blank(),
      plot.title = element_text(hjust = 0.5, size = 13, face = "italic")) +
coord_cartesian(ylim = c(-.2, .4))

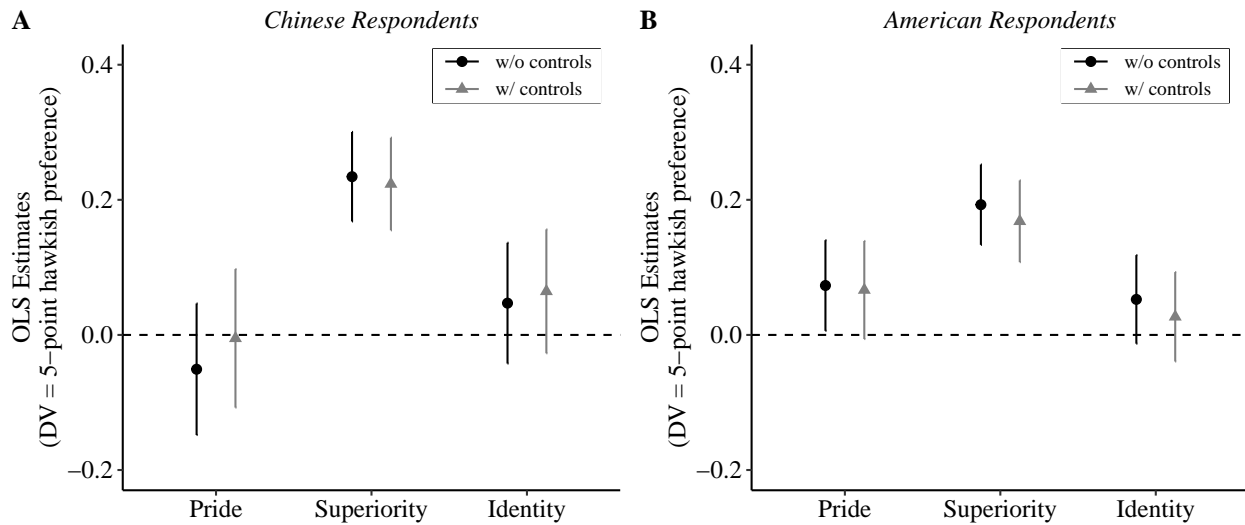
```

Combine into one graph

```

Figure_3 <- plot_grid(p1, p2, labels = "AUTO", label_fontfamily = "Times")
Figure_3

```



```
# ggsave(file = "Figure 3.pdf", Figure_3, width = 9, height = 4)
```

```
### Full regression tables
```

```
## Table S3: table for Figure 2 (Chinese respondents only) ----
```

```
pride_CN_1 <- lm_robust(pat_pride ~ age + male + han + pat_educ + college,
  data = df_CN)
```

```
pride_CN_2 <- lm_robust(pat_pride ~ age + male + han + pat_educ + college +
  ccp + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
  data = df_CN)
```

```
super_CN_1 <- lm_robust(pat_super ~ age + male + han + pat_educ + college,
  data = df_CN)
```

```
super_CN_2 <- lm_robust(pat_super ~ age + male + han + pat_educ + college +
  ccp + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
  data = df_CN)
```

```
natid_CN_1 <- lm_robust(pat_natid ~ age + male + han + pat_educ + college,
  data = df_CN)
```

```
natid_CN_2 <- lm_robust(pat_natid ~ age + male + han + pat_educ + college +
  ccp + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
  data = df_CN)
```

```
texreg(list(pride_CN_1, pride_CN_2, super_CN_1, super_CN_2, natid_CN_1, natid_CN_2),
  include.ci = F,
```

```
  custom.header = list("Pride" = 1:2, "Superiority" = 3:4, "Identity" = 5:6),
```

```
  custom.note = "Entries are OLS estimates with robust standard errors in parentheses.
```

```
  All significance tests are two-tailed with the following notations:
```

```
  $^{\{***\}}p<0.001$; $^{\{**\}}p<0.01$; $^{\{*}\}}p<0.05$.",
```

```
  caption = "Individual-Level Correlates of Different Understandings of Patriotism (Chinese)",
```

```
  fontsize = "small")
```

```
##
```

```
## \begin{table}
```

```
## \begin{center}
```

```
## \begin{small}
```

```
## \begin{tabular}{l c c c c c c}
```

```

## \hline
## & \multicolumn{2}{c}{Pride} & \multicolumn{2}{c}{Superiority} & \multicolumn{2}{c}{Identity}
## \cline{2-3} \cline{4-5} \cline{6-7}
## & Model 1 & Model 2 & Model 3 & Model 4 & Model 5 & Model 6 \\
## \hline
## (Intercept) & $4.18^{***}$ & $3.18^{***}$ & $2.81^{***}$ & $1.84^{***}$ & $3.91^{***}$ & $2.81^{***}$
## & $(0.22)$ & $(0.24)$ & $(0.32)$ & $(0.35)$ & $(0.22)$ & $(0.22)$
## age & $0.00$ & $0.00$ & $0.01$ & $0.01^{*}$ & $0.00$ & $0.00$
## & $(0.00)$ & $(0.00)$ & $(0.00)$ & $(0.00)$ & $(0.00)$ & $(0.00)$
## male & $-0.13^{**}$ & $-0.08^{*}$ & $-0.14^{*}$ & $-0.10$ & $-0.03$ & $-0.03$
## & $(0.04)$ & $(0.04)$ & $(0.06)$ & $(0.06)$ & $(0.04)$ & $(0.04)$
## han & $0.21$ & $0.18$ & $0.40^{**}$ & $0.35^{*}$ & $0.15$ & $0.15$
## & $(0.13)$ & $(0.12)$ & $(0.19)$ & $(0.18)$ & $(0.14)$ & $(0.14)$
## pat\_educ & $0.07$ & $0.04$ & $0.52^{***}$ & $0.57^{***}$ & $0.14$ & $0.14$
## & $(0.08)$ & $(0.08)$ & $(0.12)$ & $(0.12)$ & $(0.09)$ & $(0.09)$
## college & $0.03$ & $0.03$ & $-0.07$ & $-0.07$ & $0.02$ & $0.02$
## & $(0.04)$ & $(0.04)$ & $(0.06)$ & $(0.06)$ & $(0.04)$ & $(0.04)$
## ccp & & $0.08$ & & $0.12$ & & & $0.08$
## & & $(0.05)$ & & $(0.08)$ & & & $(0.05)$
## pol\_know & & $0.08$ & & $-0.03$ & & & $0.08$
## & & $(0.06)$ & & $(0.10)$ & & & $(0.06)$
## auth & & $0.16^{***}$ & & $0.39^{***}$ & & & $0.16^{***}$
## & & $(0.06)$ & & $(0.09)$ & & & $(0.06)$
## cosmo\_id & & $0.25^{*}$ & & $0.30^{*}$ & & & $0.25^{*}$
## & & $(0.10)$ & & $(0.15)$ & & & $(0.10)$
## efficacy & & $0.88^{***}$ & & $0.57^{***}$ & & & $0.88^{***}$
## & & $(0.10)$ & & $(0.14)$ & & & $(0.10)$
## \hline
## R^2$ & $0.01$ & $0.11$ & $0.03$ & $0.07$ & $0.01$ & $0.01$
## Adj. R^2$ & $0.01$ & $0.11$ & $0.03$ & $0.07$ & $0.00$ & $0.00$
## Num. obs. & $1445$ & $1418$ & $1445$ & $1418$ & $1447$ & $1447$
## RMSE & $0.72$ & $0.68$ & $1.09$ & $1.07$ & $0.79$ & $0.79$
## \hline
## \multicolumn{7}{l}{\tiny{Entries are OLS estimates with robust standard errors in parentheses}}
## All significance tests are two-tailed with the following notations:
## $^{***}$p<0.001$; $^{**}$p<0.01$; $^{*}$p<0.05$.}}
## \end{tabular}
## \end{small}
## \caption{Individual-Level Correlates of Different Understandings of Patriotism (Chinese Sample)}
## \label{table:coefficients}
## \end{center}
## \end{table}

```

```

## Table S4: table for Figure 2 (American respondents only) ----
pride_US_1 <- lm_robust(pat_pride ~ age + male + white + college,
                        data = df_US)
pride_US_2 <- lm_robust(pat_pride ~ age + male + white + college +
                        gop + dem + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,

```

```

        data = df_US)
super_US_1 <- lm_robust(pat_super ~ age + male + white + college,
        data = df_US)
super_US_2 <- lm_robust(pat_super ~ age + male + white + college +
        gop + dem + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
        data = df_US)
natid_US_1 <- lm_robust(pat_natid ~ age + male + white + college,
        data = df_US)
natid_US_2 <- lm_robust(pat_natid ~ age + male + white + college +
        gop + dem + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
        data = df_US)
texreg(list(pride_US_1, pride_US_2, super_US_1, super_US_2, natid_US_1, natid_US_2),
        include.ci = F,
        custom.header = list("Pride" = 1:2, "Superiority" = 3:4, "Identity" = 5:6),
        custom.note = "Entries are OLS estimates with robust standard errors in parentheses.
        All significance tests are two-tailed with the following notations:
        $^{***}p<0.001$; $^{**}p<0.01$; $^{*}p<0.05$.",
        caption = "Individual-Level Correlates of Different Understandings of Patriotism (American)",
        fontsize = "small")

```

```

##
## \begin{table}
## \begin{center}
## \begin{small}
## \begin{tabular}{l c c c c c c}
## \hline
## & \multicolumn{2}{c}{Pride} & \multicolumn{2}{c}{Superiority} & \multicolumn{2}{c}{Identity} \\
## \cline{2-3} \cline{4-5} \cline{6-7}
## & Model 1 & Model 2 & Model 3 & Model 4 & Model 5 & Model 6 \\
## \hline
## (Intercept) & $3.60^{***}$ & $2.78^{***}$ & $3.32^{***}$ & $2.81^{***}$ & $3.45^{***}$ & $ \\
## & $(0.07)$ & $(0.13)$ & $(0.09)$ & $(0.15)$ & $(0.08)$ & $ \\
## age & $0.01^{***}$ & $0.01^{***}$ & $-0.01^{***}$ & $-0.01^{***}$ & $-0.01^{***}$ & $ \\
## & $(0.00)$ & $(0.00)$ & $(0.00)$ & $(0.00)$ & $(0.00)$ & $ \\
## male & $-0.00$ & $-0.01$ & $0.33^{***}$ & $0.33^{***}$ & $0.21^{***}$ & $ \\
## & $(0.05)$ & $(0.05)$ & $(0.06)$ & $(0.06)$ & $(0.06)$ & $ \\
## white & $0.14^{*}$ & $0.10$ & $0.14^{*}$ & $0.15^{*}$ & $0.19^{**}$ & $ \\
## & $(0.06)$ & $(0.06)$ & $(0.07)$ & $(0.07)$ & $(0.06)$ & $ \\
## college & $0.07$ & $0.06$ & $-0.03$ & $0.03$ & $0.05$ & $ \\
## & $(0.05)$ & $(0.05)$ & $(0.06)$ & $(0.06)$ & $(0.06)$ & $ \\
## gop & & $0.41^{***}$ & & $0.39^{***}$ & & $ \\
## & & $(0.07)$ & & $(0.09)$ & & $ \\
## dem & & $0.20^{**}$ & & $0.28^{***}$ & & $ \\
## & & $(0.07)$ & & $(0.08)$ & & $ \\
## pol\_know & & $0.03$ & & $-0.46^{***}$ & & $ \\
## & & $(0.07)$ & & $(0.10)$ & & $ \\
## auth & & $0.32^{***}$ & & $0.39^{***}$ & & $

```

```

##           &           & $(0.07)$           &           & $(0.09)$           &           &
## cosmo\_id  &           & $0.48^{***}$ &           & $-0.13$           &           &
##           &           & $(0.10)$           &           & $(0.12)$           &           &
## efficacy  &           & $0.26^{**}$ &           & $0.54^{***}$ &           &
##           &           & $(0.09)$           &           & $(0.12)$           &           &
## \hline
## R$^2$     & $0.04$           & $0.10$           & $0.03$           & $0.09$           & $0.02$           &
## Adj. R$^2$ & $0.04$           & $0.10$           & $0.03$           & $0.09$           & $0.01$           &
## Num. obs. & $1575$           & $1539$           & $1575$           & $1539$           & $1574$           &
## RMSE      & $0.94$           & $0.90$           & $1.18$           & $1.15$           & $1.10$           &
## \hline
## \multicolumn{7}{l}{\tiny{Entries are OLS estimates with robust standard errors in parentheses}}
##           All significance tests are two-tailed with the following notations:
##           $^{***}p<0.001$; $^{**}p<0.01$; $^{*}p<0.05$.}}
## \end{tabular}
## \end{small}
## \caption{Individual-Level Correlates of Different Understandings of Patriotism (American Sample)}
## \label{table:coefficients}
## \end{center}
## \end{table}

```

Table S5: table for Figure 3 ----

```

texreg(list(hawk_CN_1, hawk_CN_2, hawk_CN_3, hawk_US_1, hawk_US_2, hawk_US_3),
  include.ci = F,
  custom.header = list("Chinese Respondents" = 1:3, "American Respondents" = 4:6),
  custom.note = "Entries are OLS estimates with robust standard errors in parentheses.
  All significance tests are two-tailed with the following notations:
  $^{***}p<0.001$; $^{**}p<0.01$; $^{*}p<0.05$.",
  caption = "Hawkish Foreign Policy Preferences and Different Understandings of Patriotism",
  fontsize = "small")

```

```

##
## \begin{table}
## \begin{center}
## \begin{small}
## \begin{tabular}{l c c c c c c}
## \hline
## & \multicolumn{3}{c}{Chinese Respondents} & \multicolumn{3}{c}{American Respondents} \\
## \cline{2-4} \cline{5-7}
## & Model 1 & Model 2 & Model 3 & Model 4 & Model 5 & Model 6 \\
## \hline
## (Intercept) & $2.20^{***}$ & $1.48^{***}$ & $1.83^{***}$ & $2.12^{***}$ & $2.13^{***}$ & $2.20^{***}$ \\
##           & $(0.21)$ & $(0.38)$ & $(0.41)$ & $(0.16)$ & $(0.17)$ & $(0.18)$ \\
## pat\_pride & $-0.05$ & $-0.04$ & $-0.01$ & $0.07^{*}$ & $0.07$ & $0.07$ \\
##           & $(0.05)$ & $(0.05)$ & $(0.05)$ & $(0.03)$ & $(0.04)$ & $(0.04)$ \\
## pat\_super & $0.23^{***}$ & $0.22^{***}$ & $0.22^{***}$ & $0.19^{***}$ & $0.18^{***}$ & $0.18^{***}$ \\
##           & $(0.03)$ & $(0.03)$ & $(0.03)$ & $(0.03)$ & $(0.03)$ & $(0.03)$ \\
## pat\_natid & $0.05$ & $0.04$ & $0.06$ & $0.05$ & $0.04$ & $0.04$

```

```

##          & $(0.05)$      & $(0.05)$      & $(0.05)$      & $(0.03)$      & $(0.03)$      & $(0.03)$
## age      &              & $0.01$        & $0.01$        &              & $-0.00^{**}$  & $-0.00^{**}$
##          &              & $(0.00)$      & $(0.00)$      &              & $(0.00)$      & $(0.00)$
## male     &              & $0.09$        & $0.06$        &              & $0.34^{***}$  & $0.34^{***}$
##          &              & $(0.06)$      & $(0.06)$      &              & $(0.06)$      & $(0.06)$
## han      &              & $0.09$        & $0.09$        &              &              &             
##          &              & $(0.18)$      & $(0.17)$      &              &              &             
## pat\_educ &              & $0.39^{**}$   & $0.38^{**}$   &              &              &             
##          &              & $(0.13)$      & $(0.13)$      &              &              &             
## college  &              & $0.11$        & $0.11$        &              & $0.01$        & $0.01$
##          &              & $(0.06)$      & $(0.07)$      &              & $(0.06)$      & $(0.06)$
## ccp      &              &              & $-0.05$       &              &              &             
##          &              &              & $(0.08)$      &              &              &             
## pol\_know &              &              & $-0.04$       &              &              &             
##          &              &              & $(0.10)$      &              &              &             
## auth     &              &              & $-0.21^{*}$   &              &              &             
##          &              &              & $(0.10)$      &              &              &             
## cosmo\_id &              &              & $-0.31$       &              &              &             
##          &              &              & $(0.17)$      &              &              &             
## efficacy &              &              & $-0.29$       &              &              &             
##          &              &              & $(0.15)$      &              &              &             
## white    &              &              &              &              & $0.26^{***}$  & $0.26^{***}$
##          &              &              &              &              & $(0.07)$      & $(0.07)$
## gop      &              &              &              &              &              &             
##          &              &              &              &              &              &             
## dem      &              &              &              &              &              &             
##          &              &              &              &              &              &             
## \hline
## R$^2$    & $0.05$      & $0.06$      & $0.07$      & $0.06$      & $0.08$      & $0.08$
## Adj. R$^2$ & $0.04$      & $0.05$      & $0.06$      & $0.05$      & $0.08$      & $0.08$
## Num. obs. & $1441$     & $1441$     & $1418$     & $1568$     & $1567$     & $1567$
## RMSE     & $1.19$     & $1.18$     & $1.18$     & $1.19$     & $1.17$     & $1.17$
## \hline
## \multicolumn{7}{\tiny{Entries are OLS estimates with robust standard errors in parentheses}}
##       All significance tests are two-tailed with the following notations:
##       $^{***}$p<0.001$; $^{**}$p<0.01$; $^{*}$p<0.05$.}}
## \end{tabular}
## \end{small}
## \caption{Hawkish Foreign Policy Preferences and Different Understandings of Patriotism}
## \label{table:coefficients}
## \end{center}
## \end{table}

```

Exploratory analysis

Figure S1: correlations between different understandings of patriotism ----

Select relevant variables only

```
df_US_cor <- subset(df_US, select = c("pat_pride", "pat_super", "pat_natid"))
```

```
df_CN_cor <- subset(df_CN, select = c("pat_pride", "pat_super", "pat_natid"))
```

```

# Compute the correlation matrices
df_US_cor <- round(cor(df_US_cor, use = "na.or.complete"), 2)
df_CN_cor <- round(cor(df_CN_cor, use = "na.or.complete"), 2)

# Get the upper triangles of the correlation matrices
get_upper_tri <- function(cormat) {
  cormat[lower.tri(cormat)] <- NA
  return(cormat)
}
upper_tri_US <- get_upper_tri(df_US_cor)
upper_tri_CN <- get_upper_tri(df_CN_cor)

# Produce the correlation matrix heatmap for the Chinese sample
melted_cormat_CN <- melt(upper_tri_CN, na.rm = T) # melt the matrix
heatmap_CN <-
  ggplot(data = melted_cormat_CN, aes(Var2, Var1, fill = value)) +
  geom_tile(color = "white") +
  scale_fill_gradient2(low = "grey100", high = "grey30", mid = "grey70",
    midpoint = 0.5, limit = c(0, 1), space = "Lab",
    name = expression(paste("Pearson's ", italic("r")))) +
  theme_minimal() +
  coord_fixed() +
  ggtitle("Chinese Respondents") +
  geom_text(aes(Var2, Var1, label = value),
    color = "black", size = 4, family = "Times") +
  theme(text = element_text(family = "Times", size = 13),
    axis.text = element_text(color = "black", size = 13),
    axis.title.x = element_blank(), axis.title.y = element_blank(),
    panel.grid.major = element_blank(), panel.border = element_blank(),
    panel.background = element_blank(),
    legend.justification = c(1, 0), legend.position = c(0.6, 0.7),
    legend.direction = "horizontal",
    plot.title = element_text(hjust = 0.5, size = 13, face = "italic")) +
  guides(fill = guide_colorbar(barwidth = 7, barheight = 1,
    title.position = "top", title.hjust = 0.5)) +
  scale_x_discrete(labels = c("Pride", "Superiority", "Identity")) +
  scale_y_discrete(labels = c("Pride", "Superiority", "Identity"))

# Produce the correlation matrix heatmap for the Chinese sample
melted_cormat_US <- melt(upper_tri_US, na.rm = T) # melt the matrix
heatmap_US <-
  ggplot(data = melted_cormat_US, aes(Var2, Var1, fill = value)) +
  geom_tile(color = "white") +
  scale_fill_gradient2(low = "grey100", high = "grey30", mid = "grey70",
    midpoint = 0.5, limit = c(0, 1), space = "Lab",
    name = expression(paste("Pearson's ", italic("r")))) +
  theme_minimal() +

```

```

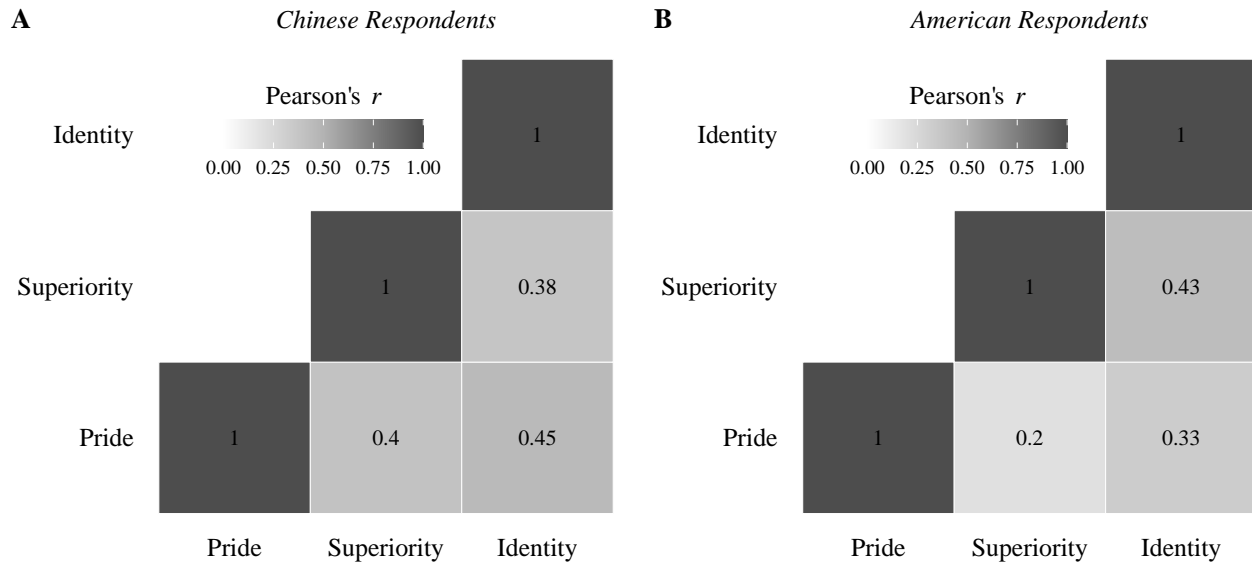
coord_fixed() +
ggtitle("American Respondents") +
geom_text(aes(Var2, Var1, label = value),
          color = "black", size = 4, family = "Times") +
theme(text = element_text(family = "Times", size = 13),
      axis.text = element_text(color = "black", size = 13),
      axis.title.x = element_blank(), axis.title.y = element_blank(),
      panel.grid.major = element_blank(), panel.border = element_blank(),
      panel.background = element_blank(),
      legend.justification = c(1, 0), legend.position = c(0.6, 0.7),
      legend.direction = "horizontal",
      plot.title = element_text(hjust = 0.5, size = 13, face = "italic")) +
guides(fill = guide_colorbar(barwidth = 7, barheight = 1,
                             title.position = "top", title.hjust = 0.5)) +
scale_x_discrete(labels = c("Pride", "Superiority", "Identity")) +
scale_y_discrete(labels = c("Pride", "Superiority", "Identity"))

```

```
# Combine into one graph
```

```
Figure_cor <- plot_grid(heatmap_CN, heatmap_US, labels = "AUTO",
                      label_fontfamily = "Times")
```

```
Figure_cor
```



```
# ggsave(file = "Figure S1.pdf", Figure_cor, width = 9, height = 4)
```

```
## Figure S2: understanding of patriotism in overlapping terms ----
```

```
# Understanding of patriotism in pride-superiority terms (1 = yes)
```

```
df_US$pride_super <- ifelse(df_US$pat_pride >= 4 & df_US$pat_super >= 4, 1, 0)
table(df_US$pride_super)
```

```
##
```

```
## 0 1
```

```
## 1073 504
```

```
df_CN$pride_super <- ifelse(df_CN$pat_pride >= 4 & df_CN$pat_super >= 4, 1, 0)
table(df_CN$pride_super)
```

```
##
##    0    1
## 579 868
```

```
# Understanding of patriotism in pride-identity terms (1 = yes)
df_US$pride_natid <- ifelse(df_US$pat_pride >= 4 & df_US$pat_natid >= 4, 1, 0)
table(df_US$pride_natid)
```

```
##
##    0    1
## 876 701
```

```
df_CN$pride_natid <- ifelse(df_CN$pat_pride >= 4 & df_CN$pat_natid >= 4, 1, 0)
table(df_CN$pride_natid)
```

```
##
##    0    1
## 259 1187
```

```
# Understanding of patriotism in superiority-identity terms (1 = yes)
df_US$super_natid <- ifelse(df_US$pat_super >= 4 & df_US$pat_natid >= 4, 1, 0)
table(df_US$super_natid)
```

```
##
##    0    1
## 1180 396
```

```
df_CN$super_natid <- ifelse(df_CN$pat_super >= 4 & df_CN$pat_natid >= 4, 1, 0)
table(df_CN$super_natid)
```

```
##
##    0    1
## 617 829
```

```
# Create an empty data frame to store the results
df_overlap <- as.data.frame(matrix(NA, nrow = 6, ncol = 5))
df_overlap <- df_overlap %>%
  rename(sample = V1, understanding = V2,
         mean = V3, lower_ci = V4, upper_ci = V5)
df_overlap$sample <- c("Chinese", "Chinese", "Chinese",
                     "Americans", "Americans", "Americans")
df_overlap$understanding <-
  c("Pride-Superiority", "Pride-Identity", "Superiority-Identity",
    "Pride-Superiority", "Pride-Identity", "Superiority-Identity")

# Store the results
temp <- lm_robust(pride_super ~ 1, data = df_CN)
df_overlap[1, 3] <- temp$coefficients
```

```

df_overlap[1, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_overlap[1, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pride_natid ~ 1, data = df_CN)
df_overlap[2, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_overlap[2, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_overlap[2, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(super_natid ~ 1, data = df_CN)
df_overlap[3, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_overlap[3, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_overlap[3, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pride_super ~ 1, data = df_US)
df_overlap[4, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_overlap[4, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_overlap[4, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(pride_natid ~ 1, data = df_US)
df_overlap[5, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_overlap[5, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_overlap[5, 5] <- temp$conf.high

temp <- lm_robust(super_natid ~ 1, data = df_US)
df_overlap[6, 3] <- temp$coefficients
df_overlap[6, 4] <- temp$conf.low
df_overlap[6, 5] <- temp$conf.high

# Reorder factors
df_overlap$understanding <-
  factor(df_overlap$understanding,
         levels = c("Pride-Superiority", "Pride-Identity", "Superiority-Identity"))
df_overlap$sample <-
  factor(df_overlap$sample,
         levels = c("Chinese", "Americans"))

# Plot the results
Figure_overlap1 <-
  ggplot(data = df_overlap, aes(x = understanding, y = mean * 100, fill = sample)) +
  geom_bar(stat = "identity", position = position_dodge(), color = "black") +
  scale_x_discrete(breaks = c("Pride-Superiority", "Pride-Identity", "Superiority-Identity")) +
  scale_fill_manual(values = c("grey90", "grey45")) +
  geom_errorbar(width = .2, aes(ymin = lower_ci * 100, ymax = upper_ci * 100),
               position = position_dodge(.9)) +
  xlab("") +
  ylab("Percentage of Respondents\nSharing Agreement (%)") +
  theme_classic() +

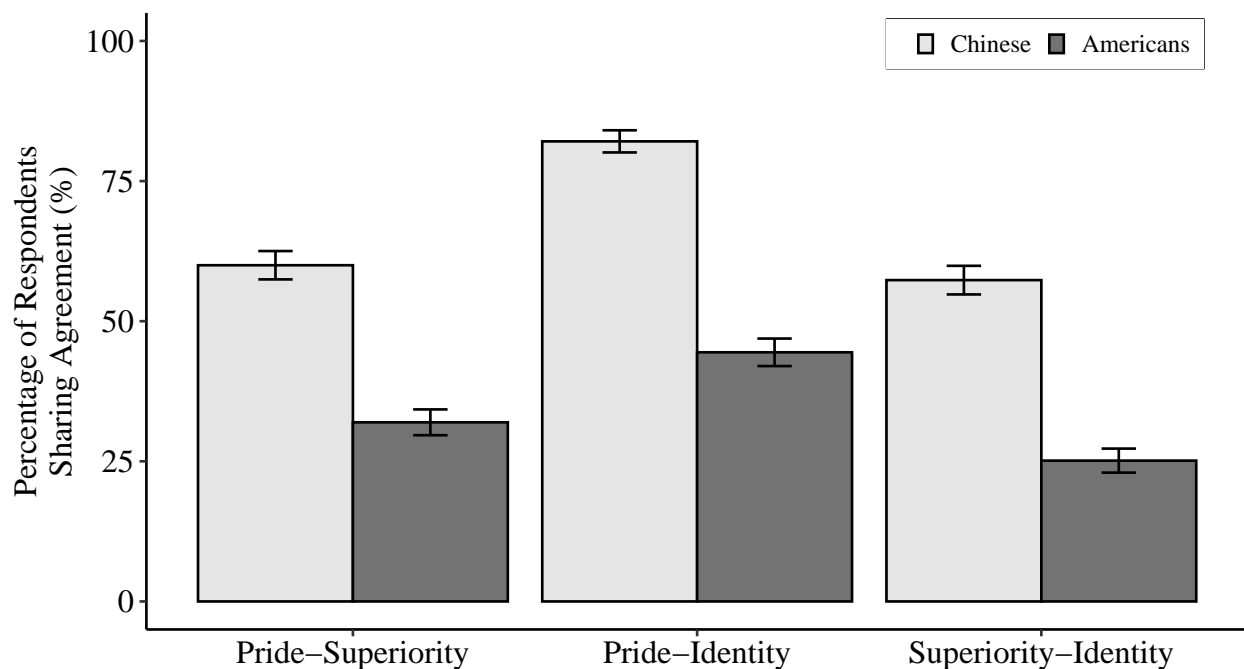
```

```

theme(text = element_text(family = "Times", size = 13),
      axis.text = element_text(color = "black", size = 13),
      legend.justification = c(1, 1), legend.position = c(.96, .99),
      legend.box.background = element_rect(color = "black"),
      legend.key.size = unit(.5, "line"),
      legend.direction = "horizontal",
      legend.title = element_blank(),
      plot.title = element_text(hjust = 0.5, face = "italic")) +
coord_cartesian(ylim = c(0, 100))

```

Figure_overlap1



```
# ggsave(file = "Figure S2.pdf", Figure_overlap1, width = 7, height = 4)
```

Figure S3: individual-level correlates of overlapping understandings of patriotism ----

Patriotism in pride-superiority terms

```
pride_super_US <- lm_robust(pride_super ~ age + gop + dem + white + male +
                           college + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
                           data = df_US)
```

```
pride_super_CN <- lm_robust(pride_super ~ age + pat_educ + ccp + han + male +
                             college + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
                             data = df_CN)
```

```
models_pride_super <- list("US Sample" = pride_super_US, "CN Sample" = pride_super_CN)
```

```
var_order <- c("efficacy" = "Political Efficacy", "cosmo_id" = "Cosmopolitanism",
              "auth" = "Authoritarianism", "pol_know" = "Political Knowledge",
              "college" = "College Graduate", "pat_educ" = "Patriotic Education",
              "dem" = "Democrat", "gop" = "Republican", "ccp" = "CCP Member",
              "han" = "Han / White", "white" = "Han / White",
```

```

      "male" = "Male", "age" = "Age")
p3 <-
  modelplot(models_pride_super, coef_map = var_order) +
  xlim(-.25, .5) +
  scale_color_manual(values = c("blue", "red")) +
  xlab("OLS Estimates") +
  ggtitle("Pride-Superiority Understanding") +
  theme(text = element_text(color = "black", family = "Times"),
        plot.title = element_text(hjust = 1, size = 12, face = "italic"),
        legend.position = "none") +
  geom_vline(xintercept = 0, linetype = "dashed", color = "black")

# Patriotism in pride-identity terms
pride_natid_US <- lm_robust(pride_natid ~ age + gop + dem + white + male +
                          college + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
                          data = df_US)
pride_natid_CN <- lm_robust(pride_natid ~ age + pat_educ + ccp + han + male +
                          college + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
                          data = df_CN)
models_pride_natid <- list("US Sample" = pride_natid_US, "CN Sample" = pride_natid_CN)
p4 <-
  modelplot(models_pride_natid, coef_map = var_order) +
  xlim(-.25, .5) +
  scale_color_manual(values = c("blue", "red")) +
  xlab("OLS Estimates") +
  ggtitle("Pride-Identity Understanding") +
  theme(text = element_text(color = "black", family = "Times"),
        plot.title = element_text(hjust = 1, size = 12, face = "italic"),
        legend.position = "none") +
  geom_vline(xintercept = 0, linetype = "dashed", color = "black")

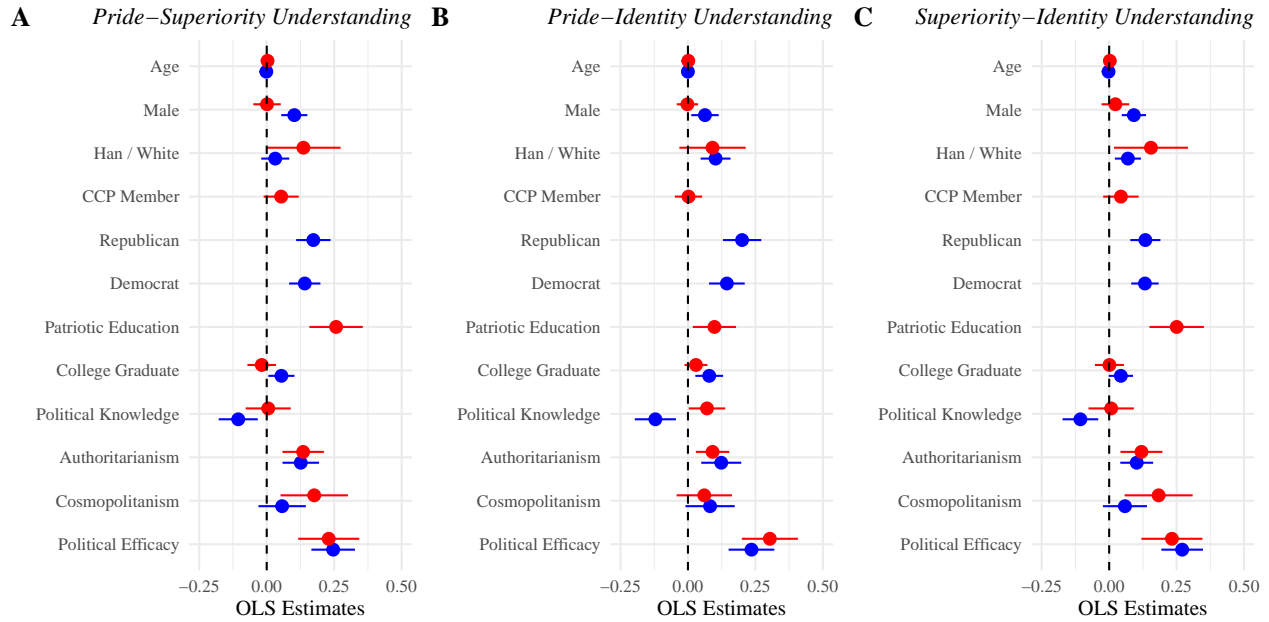
# Patriotism in superiority-identity terms
super_natid_US <- lm_robust(super_natid ~ age + gop + dem + white + male +
                          college + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
                          data = df_US)
super_natid_CN <- lm_robust(super_natid ~ age + pat_educ + ccp + han + male +
                          college + pol_know + auth + cosmo_id + efficacy,
                          data = df_CN)
models_super_natid <- list("US Sample" = super_natid_US, "CN Sample" = super_natid_CN)
p5 <-
  modelplot(models_super_natid, coef_map = var_order) +
  xlim(-.25, .5) +
  scale_color_manual(values = c("blue", "red")) +
  xlab("OLS Estimates") +
  ggtitle("Superiority-Identity Understanding") +
  theme(text = element_text(color = "black", family = "Times"),
        plot.title = element_text(hjust = 1, size = 12, face = "italic"),

```

```
legend.position = "none") +
geom_vline(xintercept = 0, linetype = "dashed", color = "black")
```

```
# Combine into one graph
```

```
Figure_overlap2 <- plot_grid(p3, p4, p5, labels = "AUTO", nrow = 1, label_fontfamily = "Times")
Figure_overlap2
```



```
# ggsave(file = "Figure S3.pdf", Figure_overlap2, width = 9, height = 4.5)
```